David Lacey

United, turned to domestic matters on Sunday only to find West Ham United reluctant to be cast in the role of doormats. A win for Alex Ferguson's team at Upton Park would have enabled them to rejoin the leading pack in the Premiership but no sooner was victory in their grasp than it was whisked away by two late goals in two minutes.

Anything less than a draw would have been scant reward for the imaginative attacking football West Ham produced throughout. But for the bulk of the mutch this was not reflected in their finishing and, when an inspired piece of football from Cantona set up Solskjaer for Manchester United's first goal, to he followed by a typically audacious if the game would be won more in the spirit of the wages snatch than the carefully planned bank raid.

agenient than the bare facts of the every week. result, not least because Harry Redhad been in the 1994 World Cup.



second from Beckham, it looked as | Still no delight for Dowie . . . West Ham's Ian Dowie attempts to end his goal drought as he challenges for the ball with Manchester United teamates David May and Peter Schmeichel

bring on Raducioiu, soon after West | badly missed as West Ham hustled, | even less of Poborsky, who on being | nearly \$2 million. This was West Ham's fourth draw Ham had fallen behind, which even harried and pursued their oppopresented with the sight of Dicks in five league matches and they | tually increased the pressure on have not won in the Premiership | Manchester United's defenders dursince beating Blackburn at the end ling the last quarter-hour. West Ham | torial advantages West Ham still a more enticing prospect at that | Kafelnikov on Saturday but Becker of October. However, this perfor- will now expect the pair to imagine mance offered them more encour- they are playing the champions

looked more like the players they | deprived them of Gary Neville in de- | estly but in vain. fence and Keane and Butt in central

16 Little beast, about one of five, in

19 Queen Elizabeth the first? (4)

22 Big story about saint at lewel of

25 Request to an establishment

26 In unobtrusive energy, sallors

1 I wrote for the county, Your

and soldiers are as we like them

21 Old blast by jolly good fellow (5)

drapery (10)

a church (9)

24 Empty with silencer (7)

gets a funny look (7)

these days (6,5)

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria

nents between the penalty areas.

needed luck at the right time if they were to turn their first-half superiority into goals. Their shooting knapp's much criticised Romanian | looked much like champions. In- final passes lacked the crucial ele- might be. Cantona headed Giggs's pair Dumitrescu and Raduciolu Juries in Vienna four days earlier had ment of surprise; Dowie toiled hon- cross on to Solskjaer, who con-

Before half-time the Manchester with his compatriot on the bench, worked, he is no Keane, and the ter of theory than practice. Little the West Ham goalkeeper turning position of 29 is testimony to the

the blg guns (5)

real sins (8)

Universe? (6)

sterling? (8)

1 down (6)

Queer Street? (7)

birth is dead (6)

1 down (5,3,3)

Last week's solution

could be phoney (7)

8 See 23

from 1 down (4,3,8)

Highball drunk by Miss

15 Advance theory supporting

16 Character from a short story by

7 Knight no longer errant yet in

3 Uranium extracted from titanium

but it was Redknapp's decision to | Irishman's pace and strength were | was seen of Giggs or Cantona and | the shot around a post. Majesty: I feel sick at heart (8,7) 2 Beast's desire to be included in 3 Hell is red stuff under the earth 4 Lake not supplied by a river in 5 Getting no water to wash away 6 Wander vacantly with a tanner

hand corner of the net.

ning out. 20 According to Wordsworth our 23,8 Mud on shoe, English work

NOSEGAY MANSION the Manchester United manager ton, both ranked in the top 20: G L A E N G S T O N Y B R O K E O D D S T F A B E E B B I P Served a draw." But if Old Trafford inltely play with some of the best wants to make a serious impact in players. What I need to do now is the Premiership, United will not compete against the very best and want to make a habit of losing two that's something you just can't E Y N F D 8 T 8 goal leads.

advancing on him with the ball ap-For all their possession and terripeared to decide that Christmas was victory over the Russian Yevgeny point than a tackle.

Yet West Ham were warned in | in each set was enough for the Gerthe 40th minute what the conse-Not that Manchester United remained distant and awry; their quences of their failure to score trolled the ball with a flick and a nudge before bringing Miklosko Dumitrescu began the game, midfield. Hard though McClair United attack remained more a mat- into urgent action for the first time,

> The portent was not false. Eight minutes into the second half Cantona's superb through pass sent Solskjaer clear of a square defence to draw Miklosko before beating him with a low shot. As Dumitrescu swerved past two defenders before driving the ball a fraction wide of the far post West Ham looked far from defeated but in the 75th minute Phil Neville, who had replaced Poborsky, delivered a pass to Beckham in the penalty arc who scored another memorable goal, chipping the ball into the top left-

With Bilic forced off by flu - not that this had spared the Croatian a first-half caution for a crude foul on Beckham — West Ham appeared done for. They had scored only 13 league goals all season and now Becker . . . imperious form they were two down with time run-

Then it all changed. In the 77th minute Raducioiu spun past Johnsen on the left and, with Schmeichel anticipating a shot inside his near post, drove the ball past the goalkeeper into the far corner.

through-pass found Hughes sprinting clear of the last defender. L A A B B M H B Schmeichel brought him down, reaching the last four, doubling his INDICATOR ODOUR
Dicks put away the penalty as only
Dicks can and suddenly West Hain
WELLEG U.S. U.S.

NICK FREECHURCH

TENLOODOUR

Dicks put away the penalty as only
Dicks can and suddenly West Hain
were blowing bubbles again, leaving
Ferguson and his team feeling a little flat.

Ferguson and his team feeling a little flat.

Money and power but little drama

Stephen Bierley in Munich

ORIS BECKER began the year Dwith victory in the Australian Open and ended it in triumph in Munich on Sunday, beating Goran Ivanisevic 6-3, 6-4, 6-4 in the season's final tournament, the Grand

Ivanisevic had beaten Becker six times before Sunday but on this occasion he never had a prayer. The 29-year-old German was in imperious form, particularly on his serve which the Croatian, who had won here last year, failed to come even close to breaking at any time.

Ivanisevic nearly pulled out of the

tournament but apparently could not find the referee to tell him he was sick. A good night's sleep pulled him around and on Sunday, as beaten finalist, he became richer by \$812,500, while Becker won

was totally dominant. A single break man. Tim Henman had given him an altogether tougher time in Satur-

There are no ranking points for the Grand Slam Cup. If there were. Henman would have leapt several places, although his end-of-year



progress the British No 1 has made in the last 12 months. Last year he

There were times in the first se and a half when Henman genuinely troubled Becker with both the velocity and range of his shots. For all Two minutes later, Dumitrescu's of that, the possibility of an upset

Henman banked \$440,000 ft

"We didn't deserve to win," said Michael Stich and Mali Vai Washinggallantly, "and West Ham at least de emphasised to myself that I can dechange overnight."

Tennis

Europe sets terms for single currency

John Palmer and Michael White In Dublin

Week ending December 22, 1996

Vol 155, No 25

currency on January 1, 1999 - but left John Major's Britain trailing defiantly in its wake.

As smaller European Union currency "stability and growth first euro banknotes.

major political drive in the New Year to convince wavering public opinion in Germany, France and other counthe 1999 timetable can be met.

countries were making "Herculcan efforts" to meet the 1999 deadline but said he was "very doubtful" that they would. Faced with rampant hostility to the euro from many could be "blown wide open" if states favouring closer integration insisted that others follow their lead later.

There had been fears a failure to will to keep to the 1999 timetable and the risk of currency turbulence on international financial markets.

The stability pact will hand farreaching powers to the EU Council of Ministers to determine the fate of countries that take part in the single | deficits are bound to influence the currency. If a country taking part in economic and monetary union markets towards non-EMU counbreaks the terms of the single cur- tries judged to be spendthrift. rency pact, the council could impose huge financial penalties.

Although all countries that join the monetary union will be ex-pected to run balanced budgets, they will be allowed to run deficits of up to 3 per cent of GDP in any year. They will be permitted to exceed these limits only if they can show that they are victims of "tempo-

rary and exceptional circumstances". But the difficult question was just how severe a normal economic crisis would have to be before a counstates, led by the Irish presidency, try with an "excessive deficit" was brokered an agreement between accorded a similar indulgence. The France and Germany on the new | answer agreed in Dublin was that a country would have to show that it pact", European officials proudly re- suffered an annual fall of real GDP vealed their winning design for the of 2 per cent or more. In recent decades there have been only a The summit clears the way for a | dozen or so examples of countries hit by such a severe drop in output.

A country pleading for special treatment will still have to show that tries to back monetary union - if | its circumstances are "nevertheless exceptional". In a binding political Mr Major conceded the other EU | declaration, EU governments have agreed that this will normally only require an annual fall in GDP of at least 0.75 per cent.

The tortuous compromise is designed to alleviate fears, particulory MPs, Mr Major balanced posi- larly in Germany, that the single tive support for some EU initiatives | currency might be too soft, and to prove that the EU will be tough on countries running up huge deficits. But by carefully ensuring that the final word on sanctions remains a matter for political decision, the pact can be presented in France and inggered doubts about the political elsewhere as a defeat for the idea of

automatic sanctions. None of the provisions of the stawhich do not join the single currency. But the strict financial targets set for acceptable budget attitude of the international financial

Comment, page 8



TheGuardian

_lems of Central Africa was achieved at a summit of African leaders in Nairobi on Monday after Zaire stayed away and Nelson Mandela put in only a brief appearance, writes Chris Rwanda's president, Pasteur McGreal. Rebels who now control large areas of eastern Zairean and Burundi's military

regime were not invited. One element of the regional upheaval continued along the road to resolution this week, as Tanzanian troops drove thousands of Rwandan refugees bac. to their bomeland. Refugees (pictured above) began a long walk home from the Benaco refugee camp in Tanzania.

The United Nations estimates that about 300,000 Hutus have crossed the border since the forced repatriation by the Tanzanian government, which has ordered all Rwandan refugees out before the end of the year.

Bizimungu, drove to the frontier to welcome the reluctant returnees, who say they fear persecution by the mainly Tutsi army in revenge for the 1994 genocide. "I came to reassure them that nothing bad will happen," he said. But many others, including Hutu extremist militiamen who led the genocide, are believed to be still in their camps or fleeing away from the border.

Kofi Annan to lead UN into

next century

Mark Tran In New York

✓ OFI ANNAN of Ghana has been picked as the next secretarygeneral of the United Nations after France dropped its opposition to a man who has spent almost half his

life at the UN. The end of a week-long impasse in the Security Council, caused by a French Non in a round of straw polls, was announced by the British envoy. Sir John Weston, outside the council last week. The appointment has to be confirmed by a vote in the General Assembly.

France objected to Mr Annan because he could not speak French. but ended its veto after behind-the scenes arm-twisting by some of the UN's most powerful members.

The outgoing secretary-general, the Egyptian Boutros Boutros-Ghali, said he was pleased that Africa would have a second five-year term at the helm. Mr Annan was nominated because the United States vetoed a second term for Mr Boutros-Chali.

The choice of Mr Annau caps a 30-year career in the organisation that has given the 58-year-old Ghanaian an intimate knowledge of the UN, from budgetary matters to peacekeeping.

Mr Annan has enjoyed a steady rise through the UN bureaucracy. It was the Bosnia conflict which first thrust him into the public eye. Although he was criticised by some for a lack of charisma, his coolness under fire and his straightforward style earned him the respect of those who dealt with him. He is currently under-secretary-general for peacekeeping, a position he has held since 1993.

Washington Post, page 12

US critics turn

on Netanyahu

Labour pushes Major into minority

Van der Post, man 17 of Africa, dies at 90

Britain's problems 18

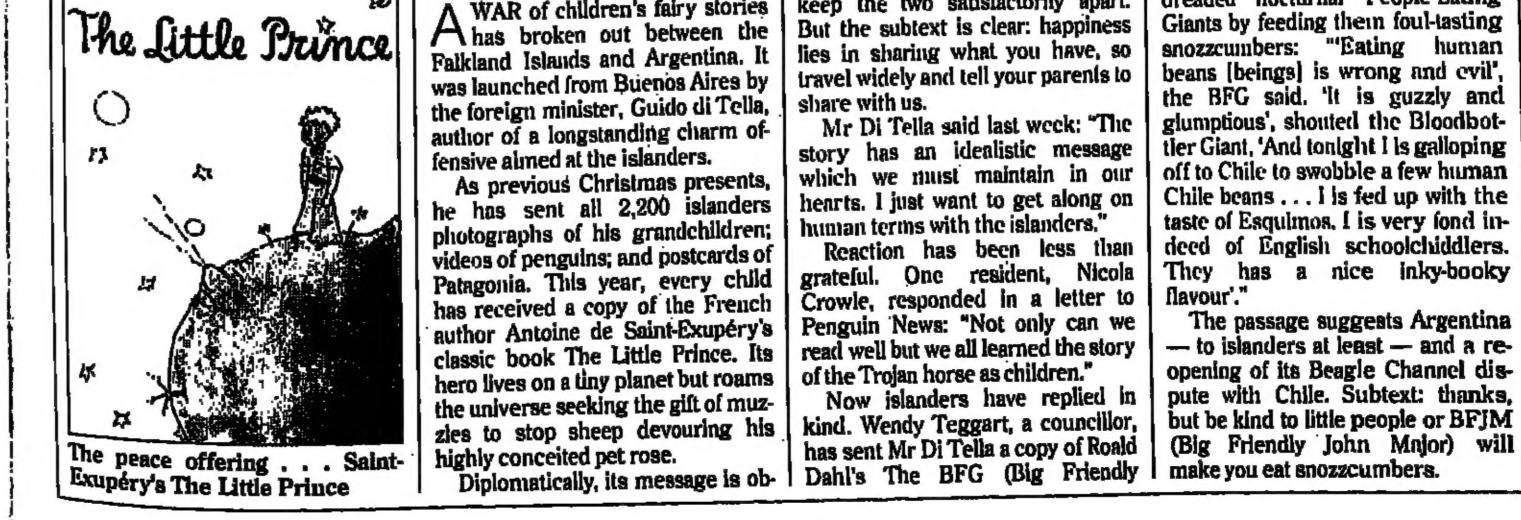
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Falkland islanders reply in kind to Argentine charm offensive scure. Islanders have roses as well | Giant). Underlined is a passage in as sheep but find garden fences | which the BFG tries to pacify the

share with us.



ANTOINE DE SAINT-EXUPÉRY

A WAR of children's fairy stories | keep the two satisfactorily apart. | dreaded nocturnal People-Eating has broken out between the But the subtext is clear: happiness Giants by feeding them foul-tasting was launched from Buenos Aires by travel widely and tell your parents to beans [beings] is wrong and evil', the foreign minister, Guido di Tella, author of a longstanding charm offensive almed at the islanders.

As previous Christmas presents, he has sent all 2,200 islanders photographs of his grandchildren; videos of penguins; and postcards of classic book The Little Prince. Its read well but we all learned the story hero lives on a tiny planet but roams | of the Trojan horse as children." the universe seeking the gift of muz-

Diplomatically, its message is ob. Dahl's The BFG (Big Friendly make you eat snozzcumbers.

has received a copy of the French | Crowle, responded in a letter to | flavour'." author Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's | Penguin News: "Not only can we

Patagonia. This year, every child grateful. One resident, Nicola They has a nice inky-booky with this one.

Across

Mr Mop, shaggy, dishevelled, to:

9 London palace of 1 down's 19

10 Some hair specialists with some

beat record? (11)

ornament for a hat (7)

medal like the first? (9)

everything back (5)

willingly (4)

Haggler who wins another.

12 I am a carrier and am taking

13 Romance pursued by female

14 1 down's badly grazed and sore

from something sharp (5'1,4)

the BFG said. 'It is guzzly and Mr Di Tella said last week: "The glumptious', shouted the Bloodbotstory has an idealistic message tier Giant, 'And tonight I is galloping in black and white which we must maintain in our off to Chile to swobble a few human hearts. I just want to get along on | Chile beans . . . I is fed up with the human terms with the islanders." taste of Esquimos, I is very fond in- over the holiday season, we are Reaction has been less than deed of English schoolchiddlers. publishing next week's issue

The passage suggests Argentina — to islanders at least — and a reopening of its Beagle Channel dis-Now islanders have replied in pute with Chile. Subtext: thanks, zies to stop sheep devouring his kind. Wendy Teggart, a councillor, but be kind to little people or BFJM has sent Mr Di Tella a copy of Roald (Big Friendly John Major) will

complete skeleton, in Antonio Di tives more than it needs honest by the Italian job, December 8). The he is certainly not out. Italian administrative and procedural set-up has long been a maze of intricate, mutually inconsistent and often absurd norms, so that (even discounting plain corruption) it is impossible for anyone to do any-thing without breaking the law.

The task of reforming public administration is not beyond the ability of even moderately rational human beings, but there are two main reasons why Italian politicians have never been seriously inter-

corruption are increased, since the world of journalism who pursue there is always some regulation or | the same goal. ordinance allowing a clever lawyer to maintain that their clients' actions | ber 24 embody both the rewards | were not corrupt. Second, corrup- and frustrations of this endeavour. tion in Italy was (and still is) all-per- Dominique Franche's piece on vasive, because, unlike Britain Rwanda was a masterful exploration where it is a prerogative, almost a of the roots of crisis in Central privilege, of those with power and Africa, emphasising the historical Acentral dential election referred to "the where it is a prerogative, almost a of the roots of crisis in Central authority, it has been allowed by the origins of ethnic categories as well paradox of victory for a Democratic tanyahu who made the original deci- Canberra, Australia Italian political class to take root in as conflicts over access to critical re- president while his party fails to win administrative practices at all levels sources that lie at the heart of the back the House or Senate" (Novem- Yet it is Netanyahu who is being set in the full knowledge that any drive against corruption would, therefore, become pointless.

Di Pietro is indeed a conservahad it been led from the left, might have been easily discounted as nor- | there were some glaring errors. mal political infighting. Led from the right, it was bound to make him ditional propensity of Italian conser- nine sub-Saharan countries. vatives for corruption. It gave him enormous prestige and real power | when Mr Brown describes conver- | cent who voted. President Clinton to damage his targets. Hence their sion of productive land in Africa ran ahead of the Republicans, but

Subscription rates

T IS not surprising that there gitimation and character assassinamay be a few bones, even if not a tion. Italy needs honest conserva-Pietro's cupboard (Dragged down | radicals: Di Pietro may be down, but

(Prof) Giovanni Carsaniga, Department of Italian. University of Sydney, NSW, Australia

Taking a close look at Africa

Africanist who struggles to make | mirable message will not be | my own small contribution to our | well-received. better understanding of the non- Thomas Johnson, The first is that opportunities for Western world, I appreciate those in | Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA

Two recent articles from Novem-

So far so good. But Paul Brown's | parent, but is an artefact of the | the so-called "peace process" "Food Grown for the White Man's | political system in the United States, Table" is a step backward. In identi- | which fully shares the Anglo-Saxon fying the harm done by globalising | fear of proportional representation. His dedicated fight against graft. the world food economy, his heart | The arbitrary grouping of voters in seems to be in the right place. But

At one point he mentions "the | crats got 51 per cent of the Congresnine sub-Saharan African counappear almost unique, given the tra- tries". There are many more than GOP got only 47 per cent, thereby

A more complex mistake comes | nority: the 47 per cent of the 49 per

The Guardian

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recent development. In fact, this has | Jerusalem during the War of Indebeen going on for more than a ated by local small-scale entrepreprocess has accelerated in recent contemporary problem is harder occupation. with a faulty grasp of its character and origins.

able the world to potentially support | to establish the state. 8 billion people. The wisdom and

Clinton exploits

ber 17). The paradox is not only apresults of the popular vote. Deniosional vote nationally, while the constituting only a minority of a mipresent relentless attempts at dele- from subsistence to cash crops as a | behind his own ticket. These facts | are not widely reported.

Hamden, Connecticut, USA

[FIND Martin Walker usually to be insightful with his outsider's view of what happens here in the US.

However, in his column of December 1, in discussing a potentially interesting division in the Democratic Party, he fell into the same trap as many journalists who report on public opinion research — confusing focus groups with polls.

Using the word poll to describe focus group research implies that the so-called data obtained are definitive and conclusive. This is hardly the case. As a long-time practitioner of marketing research I have often conducted focus groups for clients.

that they are neither conclusive nor erably) in building important hypotheses. Ideas should not be confused with data; they are related but they are not the same. Eugene Telser,

San Diego, California, USA

Israel's prisoners of the past

1 ET US stop pussyfooting about. L We are all prisoners of our past, and Netanyahu's past lies from Jabotinski through Begin and Shamir to Rabin's assassin.

While I was helping to defend the | Karen Brody, Jewish quarter of the Old City of | Nairobi, Kenya

pendence, the brave soldiers of century and — especially in West | Begin and Shamir in Irgun and Africa — sometimes has been initi- | Lechi were murdering the defenceless inhabitants of the Arab village neurs, and to their advantage. The of Deir Yasin, intending to create panic and to cause as many Arabs as years, with less positive results for | possible to flee their homes and indigenous people; but addressing a leave the land available for Jewish

and new technologies to "improve | right wing in Israel — all of this area | A Simons. grain har vests 30-fold" would en- should be opened to Jewish settlers | Camp Hill, Queensland, Australia

Therefore the only course open desirability of such a future escapes | to him is the establish homelands me. The overall point is that when on the South African model and framed by misstatements and unex- maintain an occupation force to con-IN MY role as a historian and amined assumptions, even an ad- tain them. This is not the Israel we fought for 50 years ago. Yohanan Ben-Zvi.

Auckland, New Zealand

wasn't Netanyahu who massacred Above all other problems homeless villagers in Lebanon earlier this people face in their daily lives, prejugered a round of bombings with an cope with. assassination in Gaza; it wasn't Ne- | Kerrie Devanney, up to take the rap for the failure of

an affinity for fine lines to draw dis- use of toxins designed to kill off tinctions between the various Israeli anything that threatens the soya governments. They all follow the plant during its growth. Congressional districts skewed the same basic policy; if Netanyahu has approved new land expropriations in the West Bank, so did every one be worrying enough, far more tangi of his predecessors; if Netanyahu | ble a worry is that this product is | has fired on unarmed demonstrators, so did every one of his prede | which will then find their way into cessors. A superficial change of government could not have damaged a peace process that was not fatally flawed to begin with.

West Ryde, NSW, Australia

All about

CHARLOTTE RAVEN'S article (Me, Myself and I, November 17) presented feminism from an elitist perspective. Who is the "we" she's talking about? Maybe bestselling feminist writers are all em- the Prime Minister proclaimed to phasising the personal lately, but the House that this could be justi-Raven totally ignores the deeply | fied because "... we always listen to political, feminist work women are | the experts and act accordingly". involved in at a grassroots level.

Her feminism reeks of an academic/mainstream feminism that tion of ageist policies on the political many women now reject or totally agenda. During the past few weeks However, I have always warned | dle-class women have the time to | posed the inclusion of age discrimidevote to analysing Madonna's life nation among the topics to be other feminists don't care.

Raven makes it sound as though | Don W Steele, no women are fighting for the rights | Association of Retired Persons. of women any more. That's really an | London insult to the many women who put their lives on the line to fight for political issues every day.

I suggest if Raven really doesn't want to "give up on the politics" then she should stop writing cute articles that generalise feminist attitudes and get out into the communitles where many women - who call themselves feminists — are fighting for their political rights. The political is still alive in feminism it's just a matter of wading through the muck to get there.

DEFERRING to your article "Iraq agrees to deal on oil for food (December 1), I notice the beginning of the article refers to "UN conditions", but the last paragraph states "Diplomats said Washington was occupation.

The symbol of Irgun, a rifle held currently studying the latest pricing formula, etc". Does this mean the over the map of greater Israel, UN has actually moved from New Mr Brown concludes by stating | Palestine, the Golan and much of | York to Washington, or that the UN that appropriate land-use strategies | Jordan, portrays the ambition of the | can do nothing without US approval?

> WAS appalled and disgusted with the contribution made by Ewart Wooldridge of the South Bank Centre to the conference on cultural institutions and their attraction for homeless people (Cultural centres

act as community police, December 1). Mr Ewart, representing Britain said: "However excellent the con-IT SEEMS hard, this comparison | cert you attend, your evening is rubetween the Bad Netanyahu and | ined if you have to clamber over a the sainted Rabin/Peres. After all, it homeless person as you come out." year, it wasn't Netanyahu who trig- dice is probably the most difficult to

THE genetic structure of soya has been altered so as to enable the One needs very acute vision and | plant to survive the very intensive

While the long-term effect of caling genetically altered plants now likely to absorb and retain toxins those who eat the soya produce. Why is the British government

not taking a stand? Alistair C Blunt.

VERSEAS aid cut by 8.4 pe Cent. What does the Budget mean to me? Deep shame to be British, and despair at the society I

(Rev.) Nicholas Bradbury,

1 £50 million from war pensioners.

ignore. Madonna? Only rich, mid- the Government has openly opdefinitive. They help (often consid- from a feminist perspective. Many discussed at the European Inter-Governmental Conference.

The Guardian Weekly

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United Kingdom. All rights reserved. Annual subscription rates are £49 United Kingdom; £55 Europe Inc. Eire, USA and Canada; £83 Rest of World. Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weckly. 76 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HO. Fax: 44-171-242-0985 (UK: 0171-242 0985): e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.ukGUARDIAN WEEKLY December 22 1996

US criticises Israel over settlements

REAKING a long silence, ing them an obstacle to Middle East

The Israeli cabinet decided last week to channel millions of extra occupied territories. Government officials hope the incentives will swell the number of settlers to more than 500,000 by the end of the publican and Democratic adminis-

Mr Clinton's criticism was prompand five other former top officials | the letter said. had jointly sent to the Israeli prime

Mr Clinton had taken a relatively | Middle East." patient and low-key approach to Mr Netanyahu and his government's | ter were secretaries Cyrus Vance policies since the Likud leader won election in May and during his own | mer national security advisers Zbigre-election campaign. In fact, the Clinton administration

had stopped a long-standing policy of referring to the settlements au- cised Israeli settlements as obsta- find a solution to the problems of thorised by Labour and Likud gov- cles to peace. The Clinton the divided island, and warned that when a reporter asked on Monday if approach, describing settlements as he considered the presence of in Gaza among more than 2 million ton snapped: "Absolutely."

government offices are likely to take | spent the cue and intensify pressure on has kept a promise not to start new settlements but irritated the Palestinians by reviving subsidies and tax breaks for Jews on the West Bank and in Gaza after a four-year lapse.

The Palestinians want the Israelis to leave the territories. They intend to build on the administrative control granted them by previous Israeli Labour governments and establish a state with Jerusalem as its capital.

In his exchange with reporters at the White House, Mr Clinton said Israel and the Palestinians had agreed to leave the explosive settlements issue to the negotiating table

Describing the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians as full of tension and frustration, Mr Clinton said he had made his concern clear to the Israelis. "I don't think anything should be done which would, in effect, be seen as pre-empting the outcome of something they've already agreed should be part of the final negotiations."

At the same time, he urged the two sides to conclude successfully their protracted negotiations to bring about a partial Israeli pullback in the West Bank town of Hebron. Otherwise, he said, the current equilibrium in the Middle East could give way.

Talks between the PLO and Israel resumed on Monday on Israeli troop redeployment from Hebron, signalling an easing of tension be-

tween the two negotiating parties. The former secretary of state, James Baker, who conducted extensive Arab-Israeli negotiations under

President Bush, said the Clinton administration had been backsliding. "We have gone from calling the set-President Bill Clinton publicly chided Israel on Monday for its policies on Jewish settlements on the West Bank, call-ministrations, and now we are saying they are complicating and troubling," Mr Baker said.

Addressed to Mr Netanyahu, but intended also as a signal to Mr Clinton, the letter signed by Mr Baker arrangement, which will entitle set- and the other former officials regisand government grants, could tions, such as the expansion of encourage Israelis to move to the settlements, would be strongly counterproductive to the goal of a

And, the former officials of Retrations said, the settlement activity "if carried forward, could halt ted by disclosure of a letter that | progress made by the peace three former US secretaries of state | process over the last two decades"

"Such a tragic result would threaten the security of Israel, the

Among others who signed the let- Chris Drake in Nicosia and Lawrence Eagleburger, and forniew Brzezinski, Brent Scowcrost and Frank Carlucci.

administration had taken a softer greater militarisation could defeat

140,000 Jews on the West Bank and The leading arm of the pro-Israel lobby in the US has suffered a sharp court ruling to disclose the sources The State Department and other | of its funds and how the money is | fence requirements.

press has launched a strident camof state, Madeleine Albright.

Washington Post, page 11



woman wades through flood water in the outskirts of India's southern city of Madras. Thousands of homes were submerged during heavy rains in Tamil Nadu which have claimed more than 80 lives PHOTO VRAMESH

warning that his support for the set- lers could have "tragic results". Palestinians, friendly Arab states | Britain urges Cypriots to end arms race

and Ian Black in London

A ALCOLM RIFKIND, the British VI Foreign Secretary, told Greek and Turkish Cypriots on Monday Past administrations have criti- that it was their responsibility to efforts to start peace talks.

Speaking at the end of a brief visit to Nicosia, he said the number of Arabs an obstacle to peace, Mr Clin- legal setback, required by an appeal was "dangerously high" and out of all proportion to either side's de-

Mr Rifkind, the first foreign sec-The blow comes just as the Arab | retary to visit Cyprus since independence from Britain in 1960, brought paign against the new US secretary | no new initiatives for reuniting the island, divided since Turkey inpoint plan for building confidence. | accession to the European Union in | tracted world attention.

communities that 1997 is a crucial year that could mark radical progress or be a massive lost opportunity," he said after meeting the Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktash

Outlining his 10 points, Rifkind said the boundaries of a future Cypriot federation should not follow the present ceasefire line, and called on the two sides to take steps to encourage mutual confidence.

Mr Ritkind stood firm on his determination to meet President Glafcos Clerides and Mr Denktash and said the separate meetings had given him a clearer idea of the two sides' feelings and aspirations.

For Mr Denktash in particular. entertaining a British minister in the Turkish-occupied north was a coup, although he criticised British

"I sense there is a view in both | 1998 could be used to persuade Greeks and Turks to reach a quick

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 3

Mr Denktash also said he had been ready for face-to-face talks with Mr Clerides for many months, as the international community has urged, but Mr Clerides had refused to attend a meeting. The Cyprus government says it wants to see progress first and will not join talks

for the sake of public appearances. Britain and foreign powers are worried by the intercommunal violence, and by the Greek Cypriots' determination to buy weapons to match those held on the Turkish part of the island and the Turkish mainland.

After many years in which the Cyprus problem failed to arouse foreign interest, the threat of a war that would involve Greece and Turkey suggestions that Cyprus's talks on | both Nato members, has at last at-

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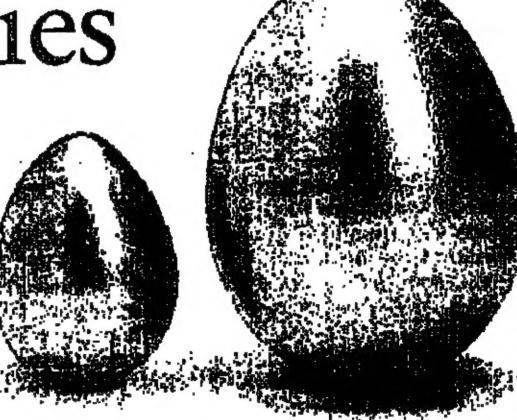
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WI

QUARDIAN WEEKLY December 22 1996

Victoria Brittain

their lives.

Unicef calls

child labour

I NICEF called for an immedi-

ate end to dangerous and

report issued on the organisa-

tion's 50th birthday last week.
The United Nations Children's

Fund estimates there are 250

million children working, many

of them in the sex trade and in

In Sivakasi in India, for in-

stance, Unicef found a match-

vapours . . . were obvious . . .

in a slotted frame with sticks.

Intolerable forms of child

human rights that the world

stick-making factory: "Dust from

the chemical powders and strong

250 children, mostly below 10.

were working in a long hall filling

Some were barely five years old."

labour are so grave an abuse of

must come to regard them in the

way it does slavery, as unjustifi-

able under any circumstances,

the report says. But, as it points

out, ending all child labour will

be a long and complicated busi-

ness and some of the remedies

proposed by Westerners have

been counter-productive. The

1992 Harkin Bill introduced in

the US Congress aiming to pro-

made by children under 15 is

reached the statute books, the

Bandadesh's clothes industry

gris, were traced and found to have moved on to more danger

ous and exploitative workshops,

The report emphasises that child labour is mainly a product

of poverty, and many surveys

have shown that children's work

But the report draws a sharp

distinction between dangerous

such as on family farms. New

work and more traditional labour

areas of child labour of the most

opened up in eastern Europe as

meted, while in the United States,

immigrant and ethnic minority

children have been found work-

ing in fields wet with pesticides.

Unices's priority is to press

compulsory education and to

urge donors to tackle the eco-

forced developing countries to

Children of primary school

age not attending school, %

nomic pressures that have

Out of school

cut education budgets.

Developed 1%

governments to provide free and

exploitative kind have recently

living standards have plum-

is often essential to keeping the

family just self-sufficient.

or to have become prostitutes.

and dozens of child workers were dismissed. The children, mostly

hibit the import of products

Although the bill never

threat of it caused panic in

a case in point.

industrial jobs that threaten

exploitative child labour in a

for end to

ELGIANS are braced for further revelations in the child sex scandal that has horrified the country, as police search for more bodies of children at a disused cont mine near Charleroi.

A IR SAFETY officials were at oclds and airline companies in confusion after senior investigators into the TWA 800 crash flatly contradicted their bosses claim that a fuel system was the most likely cause of the accident off New York in July, which liflied all 230 people on board.

Washington Post, page 11

NDIA and Bangladesh signed a new trenty to share water from the Ganges river. The lenders hailed the agreement as a stepping stone to improved relations between the two countries.

B RITAIN called on Greece to end the protests by farmers and deal swiftly with compensation claims by UK lorry drivers impred in the road blockades.

HE DEATH toll of people wounded in fighting between rival factions in the Somali capital, Mogadishu, stood at more than 100 on Tuesday.

NE Indonesian democratic activists and a trade union leader went on trial charged with trying to subvert President Subarto's regime.

EW ZEALAND'S prime min-V ister, Jim Bolger, named four women and three Maori to his cabinet, days after his conservative National Party formed a coalition with the populist New Zealand First party.

HREE cabinet ministers and a deputy minister are among 60 members of the ruling African National Congress who have applied for amnesty to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Washington Post, page 12

HE leading Kenyan dissident Koigi wa Wamwere has been freed on bail from prison on health grounds and allowed to seek medical treatment abroad.

A ONE-DAY strike by civil servants protesting against government plans to impose a pay freeze threw Spain into chaos last week.

HE Red Cross suspended work in Chechenia after six workers, all of them foreigners, were murdered in their sleep in Novye Atagi. The 14 remaining stuff are to be evacuated.

Burmese students risk wrath of junta

EYEWITNESS Minka Nijhuis

HE MEDIA exaggerate the situation," claimed the interrogators who took me off to the headquarters of the Immigration Office in the Burmese capital, Rangoon.

"There is only a very small problem in Burma and there are very few students involved, but the foreign media turn it into something big. This is bad for Burma's Image abroad," declared a plainclothes policeman, who declined to disclose his name or rank.

What has been whispered for months, and hoped for by many, has come to pass. For days, students have demonstrated in the streets and on the campuses of Rangoon.

In the eyes of my interrogator, read anger that CNN had managed to report the demonstrations. Was I one of those who took pictures of, or filmed, the protest? As the hours passed, he refused to take "no" for an answer. The tone fluctuated from the politely apologetic to the intimidating and hostile.

It took three hours before the decision was taken to deport me injmediately. Back in Bangkok, I found out that three other journalists had been deported for entering the country on tourist visas.

For the first time since 1988, students have taken to the streets in large numbers. The Lon Htein, the dreaded riot police, and soldiers with guns have been posted on the roads. But the students continue to make their protests heard.



A student grips independence hero Aung San's portrait at a protest | the authorities' tougher stand in Rangoon last week PHOTOGRAPH: PAULA BRONSTEIN

many of whom expressed their support. Memories of the 1988 uprismilitary cracked down on the protesters, were revived.

Passionate speakers took turns to express their demands as they clasped nortraits of General Aung On Friday last week about 500 sat | San, hero of Burma's independence down at the intersection near the | struggle and father of Aung San Suu

were joined by 1,500 bystanders. | for Democracy. They demanded the | Kyi on November 9 orchestrated by ing, and the brutal way in which the | independent students' "These are demands about students" affairs, but actually this is all about democracy," said a physics student. "We want freedom for all the people in Burma," added his friend.

The tension rose as it became clear the army and riot police had | The next step they take may be to campus of Rangoon university. They | Kyi, leader of the National League | blocked all roads leading to the | kill her." - The Observer

junction. "How should I spell vin-lence?" asked a student who was writing out a placard addressed to the United Nations. It said the State Law and Order Restoration Council (Slore) was "trying to use violence against students striking peacefully Please help us".

The authorities set an ultimatum The troops took their positions, The number of students had dropped drastically. They were a vulnerable group, this cluster of 150 students facing hundreds of armed troops and riot police with batons and shields. Their faces were lit by the flickering light of candles, and the

chanting of prayers filled the night A crowd gathered on balcones nearby. They sang songs and shouted at the troops. At 3.15am the troops advanced and minutes later the students were dragged into trucks and driven towards an uncertain future. Then the eerie sound of sweepers filled the air, brushing away whatever evidence remained.

It is too early to say whether the demonstrations will lead to another major uprising, or how Slore will respond to that. However, many press concern over what they see as against any form of opposition.

They refer to the attack on Mrelease of students still being de the authorities. Increasingly vicious tained and the right to establish an comments and implicit death threats add to worries that her life may be in danger.

As a Rangoon-based senior diple mat explained: "The strength of the generals' hatred of Anng San Sun Kyi is such that expecting them to behave logically may be mistaken.

Nato forces set to pursue | Saddam's son wounded war criminals in Bosnia as gunmen fire on his car

John Palmer in Brussels

ATO forces in Bosnia are to Wadopt a tough "suffocation" strategy in the new year in a concerted effort to seek out and help but stopping short of turning S-For arrest more than 60 indicted war | into a police force".

in Brussels last week, were told that | ments of suspected war criminals, without more robust action to bring and new authority for the internaalleged war criminals to trial in The | tional peace force to follow up cases Hague, the alliance might unwittingly lay the seeds of another war by local police.

The existing 60,000-strong Nato peace force, l-For, has resisted active involvement in the detention of | transfer to The Hague of indicted | suspected war criminals, arguing war criminals. No final decisions that its main task was to separate | will be taken on the troops' exact | the warring parties,

spell out precisely what new instructions troops will be given when a Nato governments claimed last people unto the enemy of God and or the smashed windscreen. The 30,000 — S-For — takes over this "breakthrough" by securing Rus- who has caused mischief and crime week, it was clear that a much sia's tacit consent for the gradual in the land, like his dictator father." higher priority would be given to expansion of the alliance into centhe drive to capture suspects tral Europe; in return, Moscow will wanted by the international war | be offered a privileged security |

crimes tribunal in the Netherlands. "We will want to harass them and to suffocate them by gradually hem- announcement in Brussels by the searched cars and passengers expensive car. ming them into places where they | Russian foreign minister, Yevgeny |

one Nato diplomat said. "I would expect S-For to begin to | treaty, and would drop a previous | act sooner rather than later on the condition that the alliance must first tal shock to the system - proof that \$610 million to meet the costs of exissue of war criminals if only be- | put its plans for enlargement on | cause there will be a gradual run- I hold.

down in the number of troops in Bosnia over the next 18 months,"

The new strategy was described as moving beyond the present lowkey role on the war crimes issue,

Nato foreign ministers, meeting increased intelligence on the moveon non-compliance with the tribunal

egy is a greater willingness to have S-For involved in the arrest and

partnership.

Their optimism followed an can be more readily apprehended." | Primakov, that Moscow would start | negotiations with Nato on a new

David Hirst in Beirut

T HOUSANDS of people gathered on Friday last week in the Baghdad street where Saddam Hussein's elder son survived an assassination attempt the day before, in a staged It will include the provision of celebration of Uday Hussein's re- hospital. markable escape from gunmen who

But there were suspicions that Uday's condition could be more serious than the regime has admitted, and behind the facade of celebration But at the heart of the new strat- - marked by the slaughter of sheep — Iraqis were braced for

sweeping retaliation. A Tehran-based Iraqi opposition group claimed it was behind the assassination attempt. In a statement, role until a detailed military study of the Islamic Dawa Party said: "A But while Nato was reluctant to all the issues involved has been group of our heroic strugglers . . . new stability force of 25,000 to week that they had achieved a the people, Uday Saddam al-Tikriti,

der with Iraq was closed for several has always presented an easy tarfleeing the country. Iraqi officials unescorted around Baghdad in an crossing the border after it had The United Nations Compensa-

President Saddam is vulnerable to the sudden, unexpected blow that one day must bring his downfall.

According to Baghdad newspapers last week, Uday - officially described as only "lightly wounded - was making a speedy recovery in

As details of the incident emerged, one report from Baghdad quoted witnesses saying two gunmen were involved. Accounts from the exiled opposition were more dramatic. They cited witnesses as saying that four or five men armed with machine-guns and grenades took part in the attack in al-Mansour, a smart residential suburb.

Uday, aged 32, was reportedly seen with his head covered in blood - although it was not clear, as his guards rushed him to hospital inflicted the verdict of God and the | whether this was caused by bullets

If these accounts are true, the planning involved must be disturb-In Jordan, officials said the bor- ing to the regime — although Uday hours after the attack, apparently to get. Notoriously reckless, especially prevent those responsible from when drunk, he would often career

tion Commission was expected to Exiled opponents of the Iraqi | rule on Tuesday that Iraq must pay regime said that the attack is a bru- the Kuwaiti Oil Company at least in spite of his success in securing a | tinguishing the oil-well fires started | partial resumption of oil exports, by retreating Iraqi troops in 1991.

Cracks appear in Manila peace plan

Owen Bowcott in Cotabato

fighters in mountain jungle camps accord in September with the licopters line the airport perimeter. government of the mainly Catholic

In Cotabato, the administrative (Armm), children as young as 15 ment, the largest rebel faction, the the inhabitants long before the vice by the largest remaining insur- (MNLF), agreed to end its military

lasted for more than 25 years has Southern Philippines Council for rebels in the Philippines are radic violence is interspersed with

> On the streets of Cotabato, Philip- mands an independent Muslim state The province's slogan may be "Land of Peace and Tranquillity" - but Cotabato's mayor entrusts his safety

Under the terms of the settle-

campaign. Its long-serving leader,

stalled to a political stand-off. Spo- Peace and Development. The breakaway Moro Islamic Liberation Front (Milf), which de-

remain in evidence, while Cobra he- to 100,000 armed supporters, re jected the peace settlement and awaiting separate talks. The conflict in Mindanao has deep historical roots. Religion rein forces tribal divisions; Islamic mer-

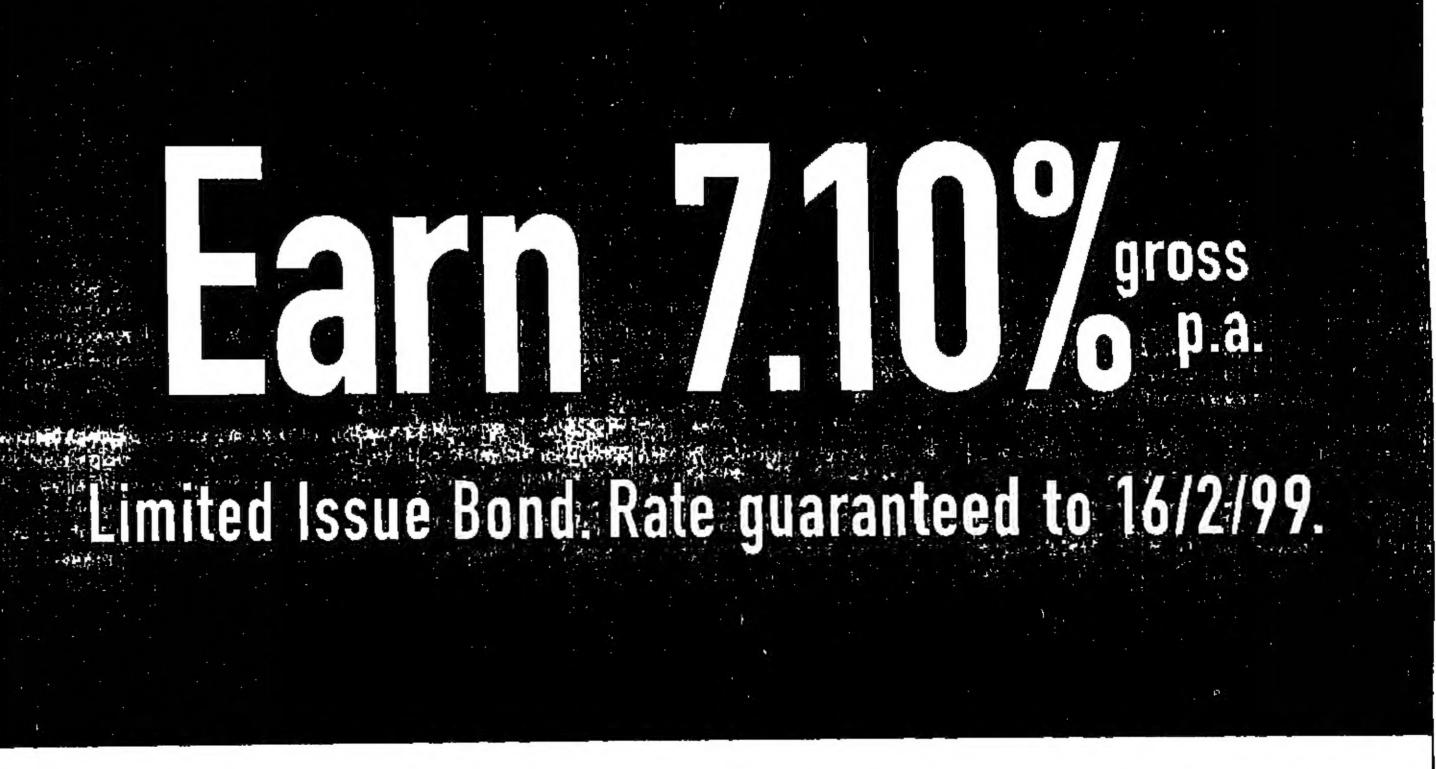
Moro National Liberation Front Spanish conquistadores arrived

chants from Indonesia converted

The Spanish, confronting their Nur Misuari, became governor of traditional religious opponents on

them Moors and began a campaign of military subjugation and the in-troduction of Christian settlers which continued until the Spanish were ejected from the Philippines by the United States in 1898.

The latest peace deal, negotiated by President Fidel Ramos, appears more likely to succeed than previous ones. It extends the pragmatic counter-insurgency policies he has adopted elsewhere in the Philippines, such as a succession of 60day truces by the army in northern Luzon and other islands where it faces the remains of the Maois New People's Army formed to op-



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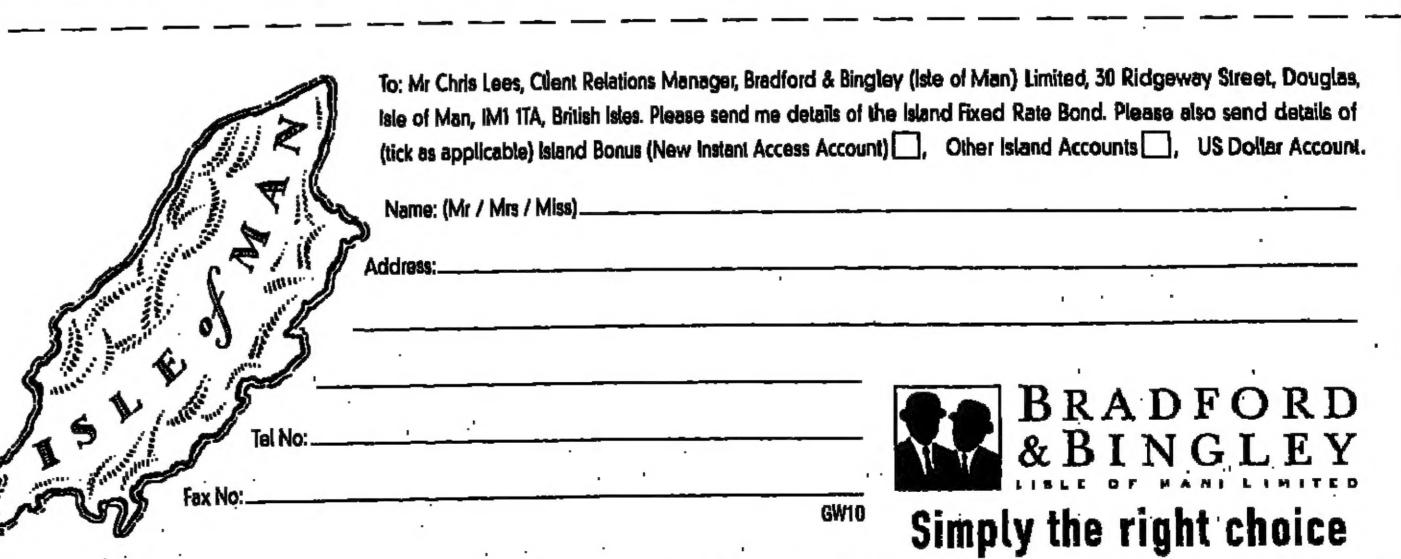
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E 143

Guardian Reporters

election last week officially parties can muster 323. turned the Conservatives into a minority government for the first time | Gorst, who withdrew his co-operasince before the second world war.

The 21-seat Commons majority that John Major held after the 1992 vote with the Government. His withgeneral election tilted into a minor- | drawal in a row over his local hospiity with the win of the Labour candi- tal left the Government with the date Jeff Ennis, who comfortably same number of MPs as the opposiof Labour's safest.

Ennis, who is dedicated to the area | their strength further diminished. and fought a great campaign.

gone and we will continue to pile on the pressure until the Government has gone too."

The Liberal Democrat leader have lost the confidence of the just avoiding losing his deposit.

nation in every corner of the land." ning up to the general election

Retreat over

Stephen Bates in Brussels

THE European ban on British

humiliating Government climb-

Europe being relaxed for months.

The political manoeuvring came

Carlisle, Cumbria, became the 13th

CID, the human form of BSE, or

slaughter of 1 million cattle. The

Government's estimate of the total

cost for the handling of the BSE cri-

the lifting of the ban, but he told the

Commons he was not in a position

computerised scheme in operation

beef will not be lifted in spite of a deals.

cattle cull

Ewen MacAskill and

cull of 100,000 cattle.

mad cow disease.

1998 — is £3.2 billion.

entific advice.

because theoretically it can be defeated by the combined forces of N overwhelming Labour vic- the opposition. The Conservatives tory in the Barnsley East by- have 322 MPs while the opposition

In reality, the Tory MP Sir John tion from the Government earlier this month, would almost certainly held the South Yorkshire seat, one | tion parties, until the Barnsley result.

Labour will now press for the Gov-The Labour leader, Tony Blair, ernment to hold the Wirral byelecsaid: "This is another great byelection, which the Conservatives have tion for Labour and a tribute to Jeff | delayed calling, fearful of seeing

Labour's win leaves Mr Major The government majority has even more heavily dependent for his | Conservatives could be facing their | a snap poll on April 10, mid-March survival on the Ulster Unionists.

The Socialist Labour Party's candidate, Ken Capstick, aged 55, who was vice-chairman of the National Paddy Ashdown said: "This is utter | Union of Mineworkers, Yorkshire humiliation for the Tories. They area, polled fewer than 1,000 votes,

The Liberal Democrats came sec-The victory leaves the Govern- ond, but well adrift of Labour, with | election date of May 1, or Mr Major | whips are filibustering, hoping to ment vulnerable in the months run- the Conservatives in third place.

test of his minority administra-

clung on in a crucial fishing policy

Michael White

down in agreeing to an additional | feated by 316 votes to 305 following

The agriculture minister, Dou- colm Rifkind to confirm assurances

glas Hogg, told the Commons on that Britain would hold out over

Monday that even with the conces- plans by other EU states to mod-

sion, there was no prospect of the ernise the Community unless the

ban on exports of British beef to | quota-hopping rules were changed.

as Victoria Lowther, aged 19, of the hard-pressed industry,



Labour's Jeff Ennis and his wife Margaret celebrate his victory

was enough to overturn a defeat | intention to "negotiate the best possi-

over fisheries policy suffered by the | ble fishing opportunities for British

Terry Dicks, the Conservative | bling into the new year.

senior colleagues now believe the | to recapture the initiative by calling worst general election defeat since or even February. the Corn Law débacle of 1846, or the Liberal landslide of 400 seats to

OHN MAJOR survived the first | Government exactly one year ago. | fishermen" was carried by 316 to

After fears that the Government's

the nine Ulster Unionists abstained,

Gorst, in his first act of parliamen-

was offended by comments made

by the Prime Minister last week.

Seven of the so-called Westmin-

ster Eight - the MPs who had the

whip suspended after voting against

In a second vote, the Govern

- voted with the Government.

also abstained.

Commons clerks have cited precedent to advise ministers that the Wirral South seat of Barry MPs on both sides are speculat- Porter, who died in late October, ing: either Tony Blair's team will en- | will count as a Tory one until it gineer a decisive defeat, with Ulster lost in a byelection. The opposition Unionist help, before the predicted believes that ministers and Tory will try to wrongfoot his opponents | delay the byelection so that it can be Some of the Prime Minister's by seizing whatever chance arises blended into the general election.

304, a government majority of 12.

The two results meant that

Labour's plans for a motion of no

confidence in the Government -

had it won - were postponed, leav-

ing the Tory administration stum-

Scots. Irish and West Country

fishermen are incensed by what

they see as unfair quota-hopping by

EU states, notably Spain, and unfair

restrictions on their own fishing

Ministers promised to use interna-

tional quota swaps to help the

for past losses as a result of an EU

rights in the name of conservation.

victed of six murders in Tories win test votes on fishing policy

Economics became the first publicly funded British college to abandon the principle of free tuition for full-time home undergraduates when its ruling body agreed an outline for an annual fee of £1,000, with exemptions for poorer students.

HE attempt by the explorer Sir Ranulph Fiennes to become the first man to walk solo across Antartica ended in failure after a recurrence of the kidney problems which ended a previous expedition to the North Pole.

province's fishermen to compensate HREE Britons were arrested when Colombian police seized £33.3 million worth of cocaine from a US-registered motor yacht in the Caribbean port of Baranquilla.

> couple who were then arrested for trying to smuggle her out of the country, has been finally de-

fall more sharply than was

damages the sperm before

HE number of asylum seek ers detained in Britain has more than doubled in the last three years, according to Amnesty International.

IX army officers at the Royal

HE controversial pattern of damages payments since the Hillsborough disaster took an unexpected turn when a Liverpool fan was awarded £201,729 for post-traumatic stress disorder following the death of his half-brother in the tragedy.

ADIOACTIVE lobsters are new discharges at Sellafield.

HOMAS CAMPBELL, con-Glasgow's ice cream wars, was released on bail pending an appeal a week after his co-accused, Joseph Steele, was granted ball.

THE London School of

ROMANIAN child, bought two years ago by a British

REQUEST for bail on health grounds for Roisin Mc-

In Brief

Military College, Shrivenham in Wiltshire have been charged with raping a civilian student.

being caught and eaten along the Cumbrian coast that contain almost 14 times the EU danger level of nuclear material set for foodstuffs, as a result of

December 22 1998 'Dissembling' Willetts quits

David Hencke

when high-flying minister David as Paymaster General after a damning report accused him of effec-

Mr Willetts, who received a taxministerial casualty of the affair, years ago.

inquiry over his role in the "cash-

accepting money to ask parliamen- oral evidence, as being accurate." It tary questions. Mr Willetts's resignation came only days after Mr Major's stricken government lost its majority in the Commons.

Mr Willetts, Paymaster General for only five months, decided to go after a powerful Commons commit tee accused him of "dissembling" misleading MPs and giving untrustworthy evidence on his role as junior whip when the cash-for-questions scandal was exposed two

The damning conclusions of the Commons Standards and Privileges and industry minister, both re- much of the memorandum submit- and I stand by my evidence to the smother a parliamentary inquiry | Comment, page 8

signed after they were accused of | ted by Mr Willetts, nor much of his went on: "We are very concerned that any member should dissemble believe that this response by Mr Willetts has substantially aggravated the original offence.

"We have decided that, in any privilege or ... about the conduct of members, it will be our normal practice to take evidence on oath.

tegrity has been called into questions in a campaign tion, especially as throughout the orchestrated by lobbyist Ian Greer. minister, and Neil Hamilton, trade | Committee said: "We cannot accept | committee hearing I told the truth

tion letter to the Prime Minister. John Prescott, deputy Labour leader, said he hoped that Mr Wil-

trusted and who, when he had been found out, did everything he could

The committee's findings follows and Tim Smith had received cash

In the memo Mr Willetts tried to

being set up to investigate the mat ter by Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith then chairman of the now defunct members' interest committee.

letts would consider resigning his The memo came to light only after the Guardian had subpoenae documents from Richard Ryder, the former chief whip, during the libe action brought against the paper by Mr Hamilton and Mr Greer. The case collapsed.

Mr Willetts is said to have floated with the committee chairman the possibility of "exploiting the good Tory majority" on the committee to ensure the issue was dealt with as quickly as possible.

Mr Major promoted Michael Bates - MP for Langborough and a junior whip - to replace Mr Willetts as Paymaster General.

Two jailed

Duncan Campbell and Richard Norton-Taylor

WO young, middle-class Palesthe bomb that blasted the Israeli embassy in July 1994. A third defendant was cleared.

Samar Alami, aged 31, and Jawad Bouneli, aged 28, were convicted of conspiring to cause explosions by an 11-1 majority at the Old Bailey. Mahmoud Abu-Wardeh, aged 26. was acquitted of all charges. fourth defendant, Nadia Zekra, aged 48, had been cleared earlier in the

nine-week trial. The police said that they will continue the hunt for the woman who placed the homb.

It was just before noon on July 26, 1994 that a silver Audi, driven by a smartly-dressed woman, entered Palace Green, the London address of the Israeli embassy. The woman parked outside the house next to the embassy, went to the door of that house, appeared to speak to someone on the intercom and left. The diplomatic protection officer, PC Ian Duncan, approached her,

and she explained that she had been asked to return in five minutes and wanted to buy some cigarettes. At 12.10pm the bomb exploded. No one was killed or permanently injured by the blast, or a second one that night outside a Jewish organisa-

tion at Balfour House in Finchley, north London. It was six months before any arrests were made.

Gulf syndrome for bombing inquiry opens

David Fairhall and Rebecca Smithers

THE Government last week buckled under six years of tenced to 20 years in jail for plotting | pressure from veterans' organisations when it announced a major investigation into Gulf war syndrome, the condition it had previously refused to acknowledge.

One of the two studies announced will examine how veterans' fertility has been affected and whether their children show an abnormal incidence of birth defects.

The other study will try to determine whether veterans now suffer more illness and try to identify causes. Veterans typically complain of chronic fatigue, memory loss, muscle pains and

The three-year programe will involve 12,000 soldiers — 6,000 of them veterans of the 1990-91 conflict and the rest a comparative group who did not go to the Gulf.

Nicholas Soames, the armed forces minister, coupled the Commons announcement with renewed apologies for mislead ing Parliament over the use of dangerous organo-phosphate pesticides during the conflict.

Mr Soames admitted that Ministry of Defence civil servants and military officials provided ministers with inaccurate information over more than two years. Those responsible would be disciplined if necessary.

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The selective cull will cost £150 million and comes on top of the Refugee grants halved

The amendment claimed minis-

Along with key concessions to

Alan Travis sis - from March this year until HE Home Secretary, Michael Howard, is to cut by half the Tory Eurosceptics were scathing. official funding to organisations There were repeated calls for Mr which help the reception and settle-Hogg to announce a timetable for

The Home Office confirmed on Monday that organisations, includmonth-long non-co-operation policy | Venture and the Refugee Arrivals

nean Union summit in June, the Government reneged on this in Sept taken," said a Home Office \ tember, suspending the cull on the | spokesman. "But we have never inbasis of what it claimed was new sci- | dicated to such organisations that | they should rely entirely on govern-Mr Hogg admitted that the rea- | ment funding."

The expected decision to cut the son for the cull was political, to try to re-establish confidence in British | £3.4 million annual grant, pencilled beef abroad. He also hinted that in from next April, by £1.5 million, herds in Northern Ireland could be will have a damaging impact on the heads and something to eat. "The fund surpluses to be raided in order linked to smoking by fathers." first in line for export, because a work of refugee groups.

1.500 Bosnian evacuees.

ment of refugees. for asylum as soon as they arrive.

tion on Monday when the Tories | victory would be only a slim one.

vote after a day of behind-the-scenes | along with the Tory rebel, Sir John

moves by the Foreign Secretary Mal- MP for Hayes and Harlington, who

ters had not done enough to protect | the Government over EU spending

person to die from a new strain of Northern Irish fishermen, the move | ment's motion supporting ministers' | arrangement, the Hague Preference.

A Labour amendment was de lary defiance.

ing the Refugee Council, Refugee Since March this year, the Gov- Action, the Kent Committee for the would be outrageous, especially as ning to approve this "huge" surplus Allakey, the pregnant daughter of erament has made several embar. Welfare of Migrants, the Scottish | the Government had just added to | from the fund as a sweetener for the | former nationalist MP Bernarassing policy shifts, especially its Refugee Council, the Ockenden the burden on refugee groups in the firms buying rail passenger fran- dette McAliskey, was refused. with Europe. After agreeing to a Project, face cuts in their official

selective cull at the Florence Euro- grants.

gramme to accept and help settle

The cut was widely seen as politiover its attempt to deny welfare benefits to those who fail to apply

The shadow home secretary, on Monday, writes Keith Harper. Jack Straw, said such a decision new asylum legislation.

Nick Hardwick, chief executive of the Refugee Council, the national "No final decisions have been refugee organisation, said a cut in their £1.1 million Home Office grant would make it very difficult for it to

This is absolutely outrageous. It is days before Christmas. Having cut the entitlement of asylum seekprovide people with a roof over their consequences would be devastat-Most of the groups have been ing. We hope even at this late stage there makes it easier to trace cattle. I involved in the Government's pro- they will pull back."

Ire over rail sweetener

cally vindictive as it follows two High RIVATISED companies buying Court defeats for the Government | up British Rail are to share a £500 million windfall from the old clared "free for adoption". BR pension fund, the campaign group Save Our Railways claimed

> chises. The group said each company would receive a share of the surplus and would be free to use the HE population of Britain will windfall to increase profits.

Although the pensions of retired previously thought. In 70 years staff are safe, there is nothing to prestaff are safe, there is nothing to prevent privatised rail firms from using than today, according to govern the surplus to take a pensions contri- ment statisticians. bution holiday, the group said. Its coordinator, Jonathan Bray said: "We ers to benefits, we have struggled to are outraged to learn that the Gov- IFFEEN per cent of childernment is prepared to allow pension hood cancers might be to line the pockets of privatised rail. The suspicion is that smoking companies [in] the kind of scam

It said the Government was plan-

Robert Maxwell would be proud of." | conception, scientists say.

Store sued over lost film

△ GEOLOGIST is suing Boots the | retraining as an ecologist, appeared Chemist for the £30,000 cost of a at Leeds county court, asking for the return trip to the Arctic after the price of a six-man Arctic expedition store lost the prints of his last expe- so he could take more photographs. dition, writes Sarah Boseley.

Barry Matthews, aged 59, of Rod- scientist to travel to the part of the ley, Leeds, took his 36-exposure | Arctic, which, he said, used to be a film into Boots for developing after Russian nuclear base. he returned in 1993 from Franz regions to forecast climatic change.

Although the film had travelled and Nottingham offices.

Last week the scientist, now represented.

The court heard that Boots, after Josefland, in the Russian Arctic, initially denying responsibility i where he had been studying the soil | the loss of the 36 photos, wrote in to compare it with other world September admitting liability. The judge, Assistant Recorder Gateshill, told the court that the

Dr Matthews had been the first

safely to within 70 miles of the North store wanted a damages hearing Pole and back, Dr Matthews's listed before a district judge for trames of soils, vegetation, the sea arbitration. Boots had not realised and an icebreaker ship got lost | that Dr Matthews would be claimsomewhere between Boots's Leeds | ing so much and was granted an adjournment so it could be legally

A VITAL milestone along the tortuous road to officials had already raised the alarm. In his final monetary union for Europe was marked on Friday last week. First, and most important from the point of view of ordinary people, it was the day when years of rhetoric were suddenly made flesh - in the form of specimen notes of the proposed curo, which will almost certainly become the sole currency for a core of European countries in a little more than five years' time — irrespective of whether Britain joins or not. The euro is no longer a figurent of the imagination; now, for the first time, may sound good campaigning to cut red tape, but was to do what other people do, enthere is something to see.

Predictably, the embedded symbolism of the One minister - Nicholas Soames - dismissed of political management. Alas, he thing to restore the House of Comdesigns (bridges, windows and doors) was interpreted in contradictory ways. They reminded the Eurosceptic Tory MP Sir Teddy Taylor that the single currency was a gateway to mass unemployment, a window to misery and a bridge to civil un- promoting business was more important than rest. But to Europhiles the images are windows of opportunity, bridges of reconciliation and gateways to a new age.

The second reason the unveiling was important is this. Even if Britain doesn't join the single currency it won't be able to avoid it. Sooner or later it will invade Britain. People will start to take out euro-denominated plastic cards when they visit Europe; some will want curo-savings accounts; | delay in warning the public of the outbreak has to others will want their mortgages backed by the be judged. The Scottish Secretary blames local of-"strong" curo - which may lead to some salaries | ficials for the delay but, as the Glasgow Herald being paid in curos in order to avoid having to noted, "he had no business leaving such an impor- fellow, a long-term asset to the cererepay a mortgage in a strong currency (the euro) tant decision to hard-pressed local officials". The bral side of politics, when many that politics are, in fact, clean. Of all out of wages paid in what might be a depreciating | delay has undoubtedly helped spread the infec- | more unscrupulous operators burone (sterling). By that time chain stores and super- | tion. The scandal is now being investigated by | row in the undergrowth? But that's markets - thanks to advances in electronic money | three bodies: a police investigation into possible | an argument which concedes there |

- will be able to accept payments in either cur- criminal negligence; a fatal accident inquiry which are almost no limits to what it would rency. In other words, if a core group of EU memhers, as seems likely, goes ahead with monetary union the whole European monetary scene will be changed whether Britain likes it our not.

The third reason it was important was that a deal appears to have been struck on the so-called stability pact, which removes one of the last remaining obstacles to Continental acceptance of monetary union. Under the Maastricht agreement countries are prohibited from allowing their bud- food safety agency. Separating consumer from proget deficits to go above a ceiling of 3 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP). That will affect British economic policy even if the UK doesn't sign up because the Maastricht criteria will become the standard by which the international markets judge British economic policy whether the UK is in or A Hong Kong out of the single currency.

The problem is that if one or more countries decide to let their deficits rise to 4 or 5 per cent of GDP, then the burden of coping with it would fall on other countries, who would either have to transfer resources (cash) or have to suffer higher interest rates. There have to be some penaltics but if Patriotic and wealthy, strong but supple, the ship- franca that need not compromise | will apparently be asking the voters the original German plan of automatic fines running into billions of pounds on recalcitrant coun- ideally for the post-handover job. He would not interesting, had Mr Willetts taken tries had been accepted, it would have risked a have been Hong Kong's choice, but someone else this line, to see how his fellow opermassive social backlash in the gullty countries. To | was choosing. Given the limitations, Mr Tung is | ators, sitting in judgment on him, | impose fixed fines on countries with heavy deficits | still the most popular of the available candidates. | would have responded. They would | well be assisted in doing so by the by forcing them to hand over more money is a bit He is, so to speak, the best chief executive that have been hard-put to disagree. like treating haemophilia with bloodletting. The Hong Kong has got. compromise - with escape clauses for countries in recession at the discretion of the Council of one was looking on the bright side. British minis- would have saved himself the tortu-Ministers - has fault-lines of its own (would the | ters had "every confidence" that he would be a | ous wordplay which anyone less | Council ever have the courage to apply sanctions?) | worthy successor to Mr Patten. Of course they | clever would have found too embarbut at least it looks as though a formula has been | would - especially since Mr Patten picked Mr found that may be more acceptable to German | Tung back in 1992 to add a pro-China voice to his public opinion. It remains to be seen whether the jown Executive Council, Taiwan sent congratulaincreasing likelihood of the single currency going ahead on the mainland of Europe will start to roll | Taipei hopes that he (and Beijing) will understand back the increasingly hostile tide of public opinion. | the need for restraint if Hong Kong is to be seen as The answer is that it probably won't unless Labour wins the general election and adopts a sustained strategy for winning the argument.

Protect the food chain

AD THOUGH this month has been for ministers, it should have been even worse. Yet thanks to the 400 miles between London and Edinburgh, ministers have escaped much of the wrath the media would have imposed had the food poisoning scandal north of the Scottish border struck south instead. Twelve people have died, 200 are infected and another 200 suspect cases | does not actually do so.

killed in 1985, has suffered a worse tragedy.

report last year, Scotland's retiring chief medical officer pointed to the new poisoning agent, which emerged in North America in the late 1970s, and was spreading rapidly in Scotland. The Scottish strain was known to cause diarrhoea, severe abdominal cramps and vomiting.

Ministers could be forgiven for not being able to while a Tory whip, is a luck- the top and persuaded him not to forecast a specific outbreak. Where they are at less victim, but one who deserves fault is in their general approach to food safety. It | not a shred of sympathy. His crime | league's nemesis. public protection requires rules and regulations. | gage in the subterranean tradecraft | forced to, Mr Willetts does somefood poisoning as "a mere inconvenience". | was found out. But, being found out, | mons. The renovated self-policing Another, John Gummer, expressed scorn over a he became the inescapable emblem system couldn't have survived a critical report on an outside catering event. The of a period in politics when the vot- show of stubbornness. Tony Newofficial, if unspoken, ministerial line was that ers are increasingly doubtful ton's skilful chairmanship, which

Scottish legislation itself is defective in regard to hygiene training for food handlers. The Institute of Food Research has suffered a 25 per cent cut to its budget while many local councils have been forced by financial restraints to merge their health

inspectors into trading standards departments. It is against this background that the five-day will be able to question ministers and officials; and | be proper for politicians, in their | an investigation into the disease by a panel of medical experts. A fourth group, a special cabinet committee, was set up by Downing Street last week to ter, all the same, to try to use it. He look at the lessons for the UK. One over-riding | could have said that whips are the | straighter, he insists. And it one lesson has emerged from the succession of food | natural confidents of a committee scandals - salmonella in eggs, listeria in cheese, chairman who faces the prospect of mercury in fish, alar on apples, sulphite in wine, investigating an affair so explosive BSE — in the past decade: the need for a separate ducer interests is the single most important change to improve public protection.

LI ONG KONG has acquired the chief executive whom it expected rather than deserved. dice" as the lawyers say, is a lingua took money for asking questions, ping magnate Tung Chee-hwa fits Beijing's profile | any participant. It would have been | of Beaconsfield to return him for a

On the day of the announcement almost everytions: Mr Tung has family connections there, and

Hong Kong civil servants suggest Mr Tung is a man of compromise. The first test will be whether he can work with Anson Chan, the current chief secretary, who has defended Mr Patten's political reforms. Even Martin Lee, leader of the Hong Kong democrats, has offered Mr Tung a "honeymoon on probation" and asked to meet him. Mr Tung's smartest move would be to respond positively. Both he and Beljing are committed to a "smooth transition", but that means living with the political ambiguities it requires. The burden for

failure has shifted from British to Chinese shoulders. Not everyone is giving Mr Tung the benefit of the

await confirmation. The E. coli 0157 epidemic in Scotland is now the second worst in the world in terms of fatalities. Only Canada, where 19 were Like the BSE flasco, the latest food poisoning saga should not have been a surprise. Responsible

AVID WILLETTS, caught up in the cash-for-questions affair whether tradecraft and integrity can produced a unanimous report, had co-exist. His departure is a mini- to be predicated on the expectation mum necessity if the reputation of | that the committee's stringent critipolitics — I say nothing of the cism, stopping short of a divisive ex-Government — is to be revived.

Some may catch here the stink of hypocrisy. If everyone in politics is, to some extent, a fixer, why should Mr Willetts's attempt at fixing be | tion of standards that go beyond the indicted as anything worse than the partisan. The public will be glad to amateurish effort of a callow practi- hear it. tioner? Why dump on this clever

Mr Willetts might have done betas the conduct of Neil Hamilton. The managerial question, the subject of his fateful talk with Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith, obviously presented itself. The chairman no less than the whip had to be concerned

Everyone in Tory politics was talking about the problem Mr hand conversation, "without prelu- another matter. Tim Smith, who

better than he did in the event. He lated itself for putting the squeeze rassing to perpetrate, and which



sought to pretend that the words he wrote down did not mean what any one but this brilliant jackass knew they meant. It was such patent du plicity that sent Quentin Davies over flinch from the role of his col

pulsion order, would be enough to get the accused to do the proper thing. At least some senior MPs, we learn, can collaborate in the asser-

The episode also does a little to that's often said about his time in of fice, the notion that he has presided over a period of unequalled political squalor is the one he most resents. He bitterly deplored every insinuation about the system that grewout of the Scott inquiry into arms for Iraq. Nowhere in the world is counts the number of politicians caught with their hands in the public till, that's not outside the bounds!

into the frame. The renais sance of Parliament and politics in the public estimation has some way to go. This may not be Le Carré's Panama, or even Craxi's Hamilton presented. In the free- Italy, and the civil service culture masonry of the Commons — where | still does sustain a public life that is, every honourable man makes his for the most part, uncorrupt. But own rules of honour — behind-the- politics, especially Tory politics, are poses to offer himself for election is the Conservative interest, and may sluggardly processes of the same Certainly he would have sounded | committee that last week congratu-

> These are shocking deformities of the body politic, to contrast with the partial satisfaction Mr Willetts has been obliged to give it. Behind them stands the unresolved scandal of party funding. Mr Major and every minister without exception continue to cling to the indefensible line that giving money to their party. however vast the sum or distant the residence, should be a private matter. It is one matter on which there's not a single sceptic to be found.

Late though he was to discover his integrity, Mr Willetts has a hasis from which to retrieve it, and with it his career, which he will probably do. In the grand calamity that is about to devastate his party, the brief misjudgment of the young M with an ironelad majority in Havant will count for little. But until the party sees the point about its funds. the message in matchless integrity that Tory grandees drew from the Willetts affair will deserve all the cynicism it gets.

E Mande

Winds of dissent stir in Croatian capital

Rémy Ourdan in Zagreb

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

December 22 1996

TITH CALLS for democracy being voiced on the streets of Serbia, Croatia, too, may be at the crossroads only five years after winning

Proud of its existence, arrogant is its detractors' eyes, Croatia has fi nally beaten back Serbia's territorial claims, and its ethnically homogeneous population is satisfied with the creation of the Croatian state. But the winds of dissent are beginning to stir in Zagreb and the period of national unity seems to be a thing

President Franjo Tudjinan re-turned from the United States, after treatment for what appeared to be a cancer (officially, a stomach ulcer), to a divided country. When, two weeks ago, Zagreb residents swarmed on to the city's central esplanade in defence of Radio 101's independence, shouting slogans against the "thieves" in Tudyman's Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). they were venting a real frustration that goes far beyond calls for press

Young Croatians who fought for their country's independence are irritated that their demands are ignored while members of the nationalist nomenklatura whip around the capital in limousines with snoked-glass windows. "Dynamo" is their rallying call.

Young people have not forgiven Tudiman for changing the name of their football club, Dynamo Zagreb, io Dynamo Croatia. One young Za- I yovernment should understand that what we want is to live normally and get away from nationalism and au-

The demonstrations stopped when the government gave Radio | ago. 101 a 45-day reprieve. But nobody clared he was not going to "allow leftovers hankering for the commuhist period to jeopardise my work of building a Croatian state"



Croatia this and Croatia that. The lent planets and neither side understands the other," was the opinion of a diplomat. The young people who silver' took part in the anti-HDZ demon-

The neo-Stalinist analyses and diatribes against internal and exter-From now on, it is two genera- often in areas of human rights and I ing rapidly.

tions who are standing face to face. | press freedom, and refers to them There are more and more scan-

brandished HDZ flags five years | the opposition victory at the munici- | trying to reconcile all the Croats president of the Supreme Court | and it is the same in the HDZ. dismissed; and strong suspicions nal enemies that television carries | that the privatisations have been | and the president is trying to every evening are signs of the particularly profitable for the gov- strengthen the centre. Those who government's increasing paranoia. ernment's friends. The presidential are getting ready to step into his Tudiman castigates Croatians work- office does not seem to understand shoes are mistaken, for the presiing for international organisations, that Croatia, after the war, is chang- dent is in good form."

Civil society is waking up after five years of ultranationalism. And for most people, the primary concerns are housing, pay, freedom of expression and greater integration with European. "The 1991 aggression made us

lose time and held back the process of democratisation, especially as those who are governing us are men who've never lived under a democratic system," said Milan Vukovic, a Constitutional Court judge. "But there's no limit to our desire to organise Croatia as a democratic state. No other community loves its country as much the Croats love theirs."

Dorica Nikolic, vice chairperson of the Zagreb municipal council, and a member of the opposition, isn't abandoning her patriotism either. She notes, however, that the government is still stalling on appointing a mayor who is not a member of the HDZ.

"President Tudjman and the HDZ who take part in public protests be- system." cause their football club's name has been banned or because their radio station is attacked, feel let down by the government."

The short time Ludinian was on of the country has moreover whetted the appetites of successors who are for the first time beginning to speak out. The taboo of discussing Tudiman's succession is increasingly ignored.

"There are extremists in the as "these characters who take sides | HDZ, this not very surprising," said with the Devil against Croatia and | Hrvoje Sarinic, general secretary at sell themselves for 30 pieces of the presidential office. "I'm the only one to whom Franjo Tudiman er strations are the same ones who | dals: Radio 101 was closed down; | out fear. The president is indeed pal elections last year rejected; the | around the creation of this state,

Zagreb judge refuses to step down

K RUNOSLAV OLUJIC, president of the Croatian Supreme Court judge recently dismissed by the government, is refusing to step down until the administration produces proof of its accusations against him, writes Rémy Ourdan.

Olujic was "a paedophile and embezzling the government". A disciplinary procedure has been initiated against the judge and newspapers are rivalling one another in coming up with "revelations".

"This decision is quite simply political," said the judge, accusing the government of organising a "public lynching".

"I want to testify that political blackmail and rigged trials are back in our country. President Tudjman wants a crony at the think all the credit for creating | head of the Supreme Court. My Croatia belongs to them alone," she | dismissal has been engineered says. "And in doing so, they over- by the HDZ's right wing, which look the people's will. Young people, wants to take over the judicial

Olujic used to be a close confidant of the Croatian president, who placed him at the head of the special services before he entered the Supreme Court, "As soon as I was appointed to the Supreme Court. I left the HDZ and worked for the independence of the courts," Olujic said.

He revealed that Tudiman was conferring with various judicial authorities "to co-ordinate the political persecution of opponents and independent journalists". He said that he personally refused to attend these meetings, which accounted for the government's anger.

"Politics prevails over justice," confirmed Vladimir Primorac, who was also removed from his post as a judge on the Supreme Court. "Olujic turned his back on them, and the result is he is convicted even before any charge is laid against him."

(December 7)

Economic woes pose threat to democracy in Haiti

Jean-Michel Carolt in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic

TN THE run-up to the US presi-A dential election. Vice-President Al Gore spoke highly of the American intervention in Haiti, describing it as "one of the most skilful uses of diplomacy and military force".

Yet, two years after US soldiers moved into the island, Haitian president, René Préval, after he dis- justice." democracy remains unstable. To missed the head of the presidential shore it up, the United Nations guard, who was involved in the mur-Security Council has decided to ex- der of a political opponent. Com- vast majority of the island's 7 million tend the mandate of its peacekeep- pounding the violent activities of inhabitants is still waiting for the ers, who took over from US troops | demobbed soldiers is a worrying inon the island, until July 31, 1997.

The fledgling Haitian police force - hastily thrown together when the former president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, demobilised the army lacks experience, training and equipment. About 50 trigger-happy violent crime. recruits, who were responsible for shaken public confidence, have Since the restoration of democracy, Haiti's unemployment problem, but

five people were killed in a stand-off | coup d'état years from 1991-94 between a police patrol and a com- | belongs to the past, but it is a past rifles and hand grenades.

Two months earlier, President

to the island to protect the Haitian | country where impunity replaces by the US administration of Haitian criminals — who learnt their trade in New York and Miami - has colncided with the emergence of more

And yet notable strides have been making serious mistakes that have made in respecting human rights. aware of the urgent need to solve journalists work freely and demon- he has been stymied by the conflict- with the former Roman Catholic

Clinton rushed a 30-man bodyguard | can't speak of democracy in a | freezing international aid.

dent Préval today is economic. The fallout from the restoration of to cross the border into the Dominican Republic.

When he took office, Preval was

However, gangs of former sol- | strators feel no fear when voicing | ing demands of the country's interdiers still hold substantial stocks of their discontent on the streets. The national backers and partners influassault weapons. Early in November | bloody repression during the three | enced by Aristide. It took six months of parliamentary wrangling before deputies and senators finally that the champions of human rights | voted to reform the public sector, will not forget. Their spokesman, thus opening the way to privatising Chenet Jean-Baptiste, said, "You nine national enterprises and un-

The vast majority of "people's rural folk - rallied against the "neoliberal plan" imposed by Halti's international backers. The privatisademocracy. Unemployment and tions are still the subject of squabpoverty, which affect more than 60 | bles in the Lavalas movement, the per cent of the population, are again | vast grouping that carried Aristide forcing the poorest to set sail in to power in 1990. Despite official deflimsy craft for the Florida coast or | nials of a split in the movement, Aristide confirmed the divisions by recently announcing the formation of a new political party, the Famille

Without wanting to argue openly

priest who still commands powerful support in the underprivileged neighbourhoods, leaders of the Lavalas Political Organisation (OPL) have given Aristide's latest initiative a chilly reception.

With a majority in parliament and represented in the government by several ministers, including the prime minister, the OPL has been trying to organise the Lavalas movement without, and sometimes against, the ex-president, So far. organisations" - composed of Préval has cautiously sidestepped

the formation of a new group called Initiatives Démocratiques shows that the Lavalas movement is losing momentum. It is also a sign of the will to strengthen Haiti's still fragile democracy.

Intellectuals respected in Haiti and sponsors of democratic initialives are beginning to worry about what might happen if the Haltian people, who expected the return of democracy to improve their living conditions, are let down.

(December 7)

In search of kindred souls

Alain Lompech looks at the career of piano master Maurizio Pollini who, below, gives a rare interview

HE Italian pianist, Maurizio

It is a massive undertaking. Play- music world. ing so many hours of music by new pianist who tackles the com- plays better than any one of us!" plete sonatas by the yardstick of his only when it is performed.

where he was born nearly 55 years | remembers being dazzled by the ago, with his wife and 18-year-old | Italian teenager's performance. son, Daniel. The furniture and works | Pollini gives only 50 or so recitals | now, Salvadore Sciarrino. But he is modern, and reflect his catholic mu- recordings to be issued only after among those composers who are sical tastes, which range from Bach | he has carefully vetted them. Now | grouped together under the "new and Beethoven to Boulez.

admits to having had some serious tows with people who were determined to win him over to their way of thinking.

One of his problems is that he is Pollini, recently embarked | someone who is widely regarded — | alike. on a cycle of seven recitals, to his irritation — as the most perdue to end in June 1997, in the feet and technically immaculate course of which he will perform 30 pianist to have emerged since the of Beethoven's 32 piano sonatas war. He refuses to be an icon, tomitting the two short sonatas, despite the plaudits he has received from the great and the good in the

When, at the 1960 Chopin compeheart is a formidable challenge to | tition in Warsaw, the 18-year-old the planist's concentration, memory | Pollini gave a performance that won and ability to come to terms with him first prize, Arthur Rubinstein earlier recorded versions of the exclaimed famously to his fellow sonatas. The public judges each jury members: "Why, he already

Pollini had already won a prize two or her predecessors. This cruel | years earlier at the Geneva competiprocess is inherent in the very no- tion in the men's category. Martha tion of interpretation; music exists | Argerich, who won the women's | Miguel Angel Estrella, who was prize that year (and went on to win Pollini lives in Milan, the city | the Chopin competition in 1965), still

of art in his flat are both old and | and concerts a year, and allows his | that the generation of keyboard Pollini is not exactly forthcoming | giants born around the turn of the and gives only rare interviews. He | century is no more, he belongs to a select band of planists who tower over their contemporaries.

Yet despite his perfectionism, February 12, April 20, May 15 and which is worthy of Dinu Lipatti or | June 10

Wilhelm Backhaus, Pollini has not always been entirely convincing, either on disc or in concert. His charisma, however, fascinates music-lovers and fellow musicians

An austere interpretation of a piece of music can sometimes end up telling us more about it than a flashy performance whose brilliance is as ephemeral as a fireworks display. Musicians who set off on a quest do not always immediately find kindred souls who under-

In the past Pollini, a committed communist, used to give recitals to help the protest movement against the Vietnam war. He performed in factories with Claudio Abbado and the La Scala orchestra. He also played in Paris in support of the campaign to free fellow pianist imprisoned in Uruguay.

Pollini is a great fan of contemporary music and has earned the admiration of Boulez, Luigi None and also on the lookout for new talent

Forthcoming recitals of Beethoven sonatas by Maurizio Pollini at the Salle Pleyel in Paris: January 20.



Exercise in perspective . . . La Place des Vosges

The intensity of song that rings eternal

TX7 HEN you were still a V V teenager you gave recitals of Beethoven's late sonatas. which are widely thought to be unplayable by young pianists.

Do you know what my son Daniel likes playing? Not the early sonatas, very self-critical when it came to re- pedal markings printed on the score, but the Hammerklavier and the Dia- peats. There are two manuscripts of In the recitative passage of Opus 31, belli Variations - in other words | the Eroica Symphony in Vienna | No 2, the sound was muddy. Some late Beethoven. I think there's a lot | which show the various stages of its | people argue that Beethoven's pedal to be gained from studying such | composition: Beethoven first put in | markings should be changed. I don't masterpieces early on in life. What | a repeat, then removed it, then put it | agree. That effect was deliberate on you play when you're young leaves | back in again. a lasting impression on you. So why \ private recitals.

Don't people underestimate the early sonatas when they claim they are only suitable for young players? Sviatoslab Richter thinks they're greater than the late ones.

slow movements have infinite possi- you . . . bilities. The two cautatas Beethoven composed in Bonn before going to | dramatic and important passages in Victora foreshadow the 9th Sym- that movement. phony and Fidelio — at 18 he had where the prisoners are released. | perspective on Beethoven by

traditional view is that his works fall | they influenced you? into three distinct creative and stylistic periods. I think a more flexible approach is called for.

Pianists worry that they'll bore their audiences if they play all Beethoven's repeats. Yvonne Lefébure never played repeats she said she couldn't bring herself to play such sublime musical phrases twice in succession. I can understand just how serious she was being behind that quip. I | evolve after his death.

have no rule. I play all the repeats | He conducted his 9th Symphony except the second repeat in the first | with an orchestra that included 19 movement of Opus 2 No 2, but I can | double basses. Nowadays people see why some people don't do that | want to perform it with a chamber systematically.

Beethoven himself was always 19th century piano, keeping to the

That indecision suggests that not start with the great works. I, too, | when he finally put in the repeat he | It's a dreamlike passage in a studied the late sonatas before the | did so on purpose. There is no re- | more or less improvised moveearly ones, and played the Ham- peat, for example, in the Appassion- ment. But some nuances indimerklavier at a very early age at ata's first movement. Schubert was cated by Beethoven can't be not so self-critical, so one has more scope to do as one wishes with his

Richter plays all Schubert's repeats and says that those who don't are not true music-lovers. It has to be said, though, that if I have revised my opinion of the | you don't play the repeat in the Opus 2 and Opus 7 sonatas. Their | first movement of Sonata D 960

. . . miss out some particularly

already composed music he would Nikolaus Harnoncourt and John use again for the scene in Fidelio | Eliot Gardiner have changed our That says a lot about the early for- | going back to the sources and mation of Beethoven's genius. The using original instruments, Have

> Their work is interesting, but would be unhappy if all the music of the past were played in their manner. If, one day, Beethoven is no longer played except on the fortepiano, it would mean he has been dropped from the repertoire. He dreamed of | cessors, an instrument which was neither the one he possessed nor a Steinway grand. He wasn't happy with the instruments of his time, but had no | more big musical personalities | front of a photograph of people in way of imagining how pianos would around in the old days.

orchestra. I've played on an early

achieved. It's impossible to increase the intensity of a sound once a note has been played, ye Beethoven requires precisely that in certain passages of the

Beethoven's part.

Hammerklavier. Every pianist dreams of being able to prolong or modulate a note after playing it. Theoretically it's only an illusion - I think one can in fact amplify a sound after playing it. There is a transcendent zone in the technique of sound, a singing quality. Some pianists of the older generation had that quality.

Such as Alfred Cortot, no doubt. Do you subscribe to the view that all young pianists play the same way and do not pay enough attention to sound?

Cortot was the very embodiment of that transcendent techique. The | the ordinary folk who people them. young pianists I've heard in competition finals certainly play all the by his solid convictions, that photonotes - unlike some of their prede- graphs which might have ended up

It would be going too far to say that the new generation are much of was struck by the light on this a muchness. But it's true there were | woman's face," he said, pausing in (November 19)

Images and harmony

Michel Guerrin meets veteran photographer Willy Ronis in Paris

TX7 ILLY Ronis, aged 86, was **VV** wearing jeans, a bomber jacket and trainers when he took me | ture, say, a flying cauliflower or a on a lightning tour of his current retrospective at the Pavillon des goes on in the street is ballet."

We started with a picture he took 16: it shows a group of youngsters | thirties, which do not fit into the having fun on a patch of grass with | classical mould. They include a curground — and is already character- Rêve d'un Clochard (A Tramp's in the street."

Out of "respect" for his public, woman's legs reflected in a puddle. Ronis has thrown in for good mea-Provençal, Bastille lovers, women riders at the Zapatta Circus, a barge going under the Pont d'Arcole, and other images that range in time from the Popular Front to the con-

black and white) plead for "a more | don't like." fraternal society", loves the "poetry of the streets" (mostly Parisian) and

Such is Ronis's skill, backed up being insipid have great substance. Lighting has a lot to do with it. "I the Metro. "Without it, the photo would have been perfectly ordinary."

Ronis is also a great believer in composition and, on his own admis sion, obsessively tries to come up with the most "harmonious" form: that can enhance perspective. Heialso keen to press the shutter at just the right moment, so he can cap wine-grower's guffaw. "To me, what

The most surprising section in this exhibition of 170 photographs with his first roll of film at the age of | includes pictures Ronis took in the the Chevreuse Valley in the back- ous 1935 photomontage called le istic of his style. "Anyone could Dream), photo-lab accidents which have taken the pictures you see distort landscapes in a manner rent here," he said. "I'm an ordinary fel- injscent of some of André Kerlész's low who wanders around capturing | work, experiments with BrassaFlike reflections of the show that goes on cobblestones at night, low-angle shots, and a sensual picture of a

One of his most striking photosure many unpublished photo- graphs — of a woman worker lisgraphs dating from 1926 to 1996. ranguing strikers — dates from 1938. impossible. And yet - perhaps it's They rub shoulders with large but it was only in 1979 that he discorprints of such Ronis classics as Nu | ered it in his archives. "The photo brought memories flooding back.

There are perhaps too many pretures in the show, the result of the generosity of a photographer who refuses to be stingy. Ronis has one nagging worry: "I've donated all my Ronis, a former Communist Party | archives to the state, partly out of member who has remained "on the cowardice. After I'm gone, I hop" left" and whose pictures (always in they won't show things by me that I

(November 19)

Willy Ronis, Pavillon des Arts, Paris. Closed Monday, Until February 4

Le Monde

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The Washington Post

Israelis, Palestinians 'Slide Toward Crisis'

Barton Gellman in Jerusalem

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

December 23 1996

Binyamin Netanyahu defined sovereignty as "having the power to say to those who would dictate to you that they cannot dictate to you, that you have the power to resist.

Israel, he said, has that power acquire it. And with those words he may have put his finger on what is

Netanyahu is determined to imthat the Palestinians see as central to their future, most notably the sta-Yasser Arafat aims to demonstrate that the Palestinians, sovereign or not, have ample "power to resist."

If a return to confrontation is coming, as many signs now suggest, it has its roots in that basic dilterence of outlook. It is not only that their negotiations are in a deadlock. or that the six-month-old Netanyahu government shares no common view with Arafat on the ultimate peace they seek.

The deeper question, and the one struggling, is whether negotiations will decide the important questions

decision last week on settlements in the West Bank raised that question 10 Jewish settlers and those who join them in the West Bank, designating new building in the occupied territories an "A-level national the gauntlet was in September, relations between Israel and world

"We are interested in a peace agreement with the Palestinians," he said, "but we demand that the Palestinian side understand that settlements will remain, building in the settlements will continue, and there will be a place for settlements, for Palestinians and for peace.' There is little chance that Pales-

tinians will accept their place in that scheme, or any of several other positions that Netanyahu's government now defines as absolute: no compromise on East Jerusalem, no soing wrong with the historic exper- return of Palestinian refugees from Israeli and Palestinian national no independent Palestinian home-

The previous Labor Party government, under prime ministers Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, was willing to negotiate on all of tus of East Jerusalem and the ex- those things and be creative about Netanyahu, however, appears to be more interested in drawing lines and making good on campaign promises to show the Palestinians

> "We are sliding quickly toward erisis, more than a crisis, in fact, said Khalil Shikaki, who heads the Palestine Center for Research and Studies and is usually something of an optimist about Israeli-Palestinian peace, Israel's insistence that settleconvincing Palestinians that this is something they can do absolutely nothing about peacefully."

Arafat's self-rule cabinet, meeting hours last Saturday, responded to the new Israeli policy on settle- | tinian Muslim administrators of the ments with a call for "the masses everywhere to firmly confront with | and few members of Netanyahu's | all possible means the Israeli settle- cabinet, are willing to argue that it

Michael Eitan, chief of the Likud | opened a tunnel running alongside | party faction in parliament, summa- | Jerusalem's Temple Mount, a site | rized his government's position: | central to Islam and Judaism alike. | did in September, are leaking re- | killers.

A masked Hamas member watches an Israeli flag burn outside the Islamic university in the Gaza Strip last week was seen, and intended to be I ports to trusted reporters that they seen, as a declaration of Israel's sale. I have warned betruyahu against unilateral action, Israeli television Young Palestinians responded reported last week that Shin Bet internal security service chief Antiwith rock-throwing demonstrations. Avalon dissented from the new set-Israeli soldiers fired on the demondements policy, telling Netanyahu strators. Palestinian police fired at a sharply: "If you say 'sendements."

street combat left more than 70 Temple Mount, But few Israelis, reunified in condemnation of Israel.

Israel's security services, as they

Arafat, for his part, is mixing That tunnel is still open at both | defiance with signals that he is willing to cooperate when asked. opened against the will of the Pales- After gunnen killed two settlers a woman and her 12-year-old son --near Bet El, then fled to Ramallah last week. Arafat invited Israeli forensic experts to the self-ruled ment aggression in order to defend | was worth the cost: an Arab world | city to identify their getaway car. His forces have now arrested about The last such throwing down of a major loss of tourism, and chilling 30 activists of the extremist faction that claimed responsibility for the when Netanyahu unilaterally leaders who had embraced it only attack, and Ramallah's police chief. Colonel Yunis Al-Afi, said his investigators were close to catching the

establishing free elections to determine his successor. The court also reduced the sentence of former president Roh Tae Woo from 22 years to 17 years, and it reduced the sen tences of 12 other defendants who were convicted with the two ex-presidents.

in Brief

Chun and Roh were convicted of treason for their roles in a 1979 coup that brought Chun to power, as well as a 1980 massacre of demonstrators for democracy in the southern city of Kwangiu.

A SOUTH Korean appellate court on Monday reduced

president Chun Doo Hwan to life

mitigating factors Chun's contri-

bution to the country's economic

the death sentence of former

in prison. The court cited as

development and his role in

President Kim Young Sam has made cleaning up past corruption a cornerstone of his administration. But sources close to the president say that he likely will pardon his two predecessors before he leaves office next year.

A RESIDENT Clinton announced on Friday last week plunged into a range of divisive issues at an hour-long news conference. He tentatively endorsed a proposed television ratings system, passionately defended his position on lateterm abortions and pledged to do more to help the District of

Clinton made official several choices that had been forecast by administration officials a day carlier, nominating Rep. Bill Richardson, D-New Mexico, as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, and Chicago lawyer William Daley as commerce

Clinton also confirmed reports that he had asked Attorney General Janet Reno to continue in office.

THE International Monetary The fuel pipe involved is used to I Fund, in a boost to the move fuel from the wing tanks on Kremlin, has approved the resumption of lending to Russia, citing an improvement in tax collection, which had fallen off sharply earlier this year.

The fund announced late last week in Washington that its executive board would release the delayed October installment of a three-year \$10.3 billion loan.

The IMF delayed that installment following a precipitous decline in tax revenue this year. both before and after President Boris Yeltsin's re-election. Many and afterward, they did not re-Loeb said investigators are now sume payment. Moreover, the Yeltsin government handed out fort to determine whether electrical a large number of tax exempbuildup of static electricity would arcing occurred on Flight 800, tions, which further sliced into

> The IMF suspended the loans when it appeared that Russia was failing to adhere to monthly economic performance criteria for the loans.

TWA Probe Spurs Fuel Tank Warning

Don Phillips and Serge F. Kovaleski

THE National Transportation ■ Safety Board "urgently" recomplosive vapors. The warning came fuel line could have caused the tank dragged on. of Trans World Airlines Flight 800

static electricity is by no means tank ignition, but is "a very possible

The safety board statement brought to the surface a simmering with apparent irritation: "We are not sources. going to express opinions and we

ions about what or what did not hap- | try "must have sufficient technical | pen to this airplane." The Boeing 747 exploded

flames July 17, sending 230 people to their deaths in the Atlantic Ocean tanks on thousands of airliners be off the coast of Long Island. At first, modified to prevent a buildup of ex- a bomb was assumed to be the cause of the crash, but investigators have leaned more toward a mechana buildup of static electricity on a lical cause as the investigation has

certain" to be the source of the fuel ity of commercial airliners probably tanks except the new 777, but he strom, FBI assistant director, said many were surrounded by heat

data and a thorough understanding" of how the changes would affect the

board's aviation safety division, said | with center fuel tanks that have a | the right way to cause an explosion. nearby heat source. The vast major- The tank would have to be the right would be covered by the proposals. | pressure; the fuel pipe would have A spokesman for Boeing said all to be in use, and it would have to be examining crash wreckage in an ef-Boeing jetliners have center fuel damaged in such a way that a feud with the FBI. James K. Kall- could not say immediately how cause a spark.

criminal investigation and it is not | could have "far-reaching effects for | were broken.

prudent or wise for us to state opin- | the entire industry," and the indus-Investigators knew shortly after

the TWA crash that fumes in the nearly empty center tank exploded violently, but have not been able to determine a source of ignition. The explosion theory outlined by

temperature at the right internal a static charge.

result of such a "long, thin chain" of mined that the other events likely Boeing spokesman Douglas events, in which the accident would shouldn't. We are conducting a Webb said the recommendations not have happened if any one link

one side of the plane to engines on the other side, a routine practice as pilots manage fuel flow from the 747's five main tanks during a flight. But the fuel line that passes through overall operating character of the | the center tank is not one solid pipe but a number of shorter aluminum sections that are screwed together. with rubber O-rings to prevent fuel These pipes have been known to

come loose at the joint, separating the metal sections slightly. If a sec-The recommendations cover the investigators involves a lengthy tion becomes isolated and the static roughly 1,000 747 jets operating chain of events and conditions, all of charge has no ground, an electrical Bernard S. Loeb, director of the around the world and other airliners | which would have to combine in just | arc can occur across the gap. In adpors already in the tank could form to see if Yeltsin would win --

although arcs can leave no trace. Airline accidents are usually the Investigators already have deter-

Glants merge, page 14

